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A man who was ambitious selected his enemy-friends with care so as to ensure opponents worthy of his efforts. It was said that often an older man whose reputation was already well established chose a spunky youngster. As The Boy phrased it, "This was an honor for the younger man and the older had nothing to lose. If the older continually won out over the younger in a fair 'fight' he ruined the younger man's reputation and thus eliminated a possible rival. On the other hand, if the younger man showed that he could take 'abuse' as well as give it, the older man could go along with him as an enemy-friend of long standing."

Everyone watched with interest the contest between well-matched enemy-friends whether they indulged in good-natured razzing of one another or whether they were concerned with more serious matters. When each tried to out-do the other in bragging of conquests both in love and at war, a large audience was attracted. Practical jokes were expected between them and the more vulgar and obscene their nature, the greater the enjoyment. Whenever one enemy-friend thought he "had something" on the other, he hastened to expose him publicly, so that the enemy-friendship often functioned as an effective means of social control.

When a man publicly taunted his enemy-friend, however, it was well for him to have ample grounds for the accusation lest the tables be turned against him as the case of Bull Lodge and Sits Like A Woman. This was told by The Boy.

"Sits Like A Woman was leading a war party out of camp as his enemy-friend, Bull Lodge, was returning from a hunt. Bull Lodge inquired of some members of the party as to who their leader might be. When he was told that Sits Like A Woman was the leader, Bull Lodge remarked: 'I'd hesitate to meet such warriors as yourselves were I the enemy, but Sits Like A Woman has no shame to lead such great men as you are!' Sits Like A Woman heard this and didn't forget it. The party was a very successful one, returning with 'charcoal' (scalps) and none of the Gros Ventres was even hurt. When they got home they sang around the camp circle here and there as usual. Bull Lodge at the time was entertaining many guests including his brothers-in-law who were seated near the entrance of the tipi. After Sits Like A

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cepted the pipe and gifts. Two days later Sits Like A Woman told his wives to cook and had the announcer call out: 'Bull Lodge, your friend Sits Like A Woman is inviting you to his lodge to smoke.' Others were likewise invited and when Bull Lodge arrived he was put in the place of honor. After they had eaten a good meal and had started to smoke, Sits Like A Woman said to Bull Lodge: 'My friend, you can rest assured that I'll never do that to you again. I went to that extreme because you told some of my party I was not fit to lead them. But I showed you what kind of a man I am. You are intelligent and I don't think you'll make a mistake like that again. Also its good you didn't get mad but took what I handed out to you. You probably regret the blanket and clothes I cut up. So here are my best clothes—you can have them.' Then, indicating his best race horse, he added: 'Lead that horse home and keep it.' Thus Sits Like A Woman publicly absolved Bull Lodge, but by heaping gifts upon him so generously he exposed him too."

If enemy-friends were relatives, usually they were of opposite sex and the joking aspects, rather than the spirit of rivalry, were predominant. Should the enemy-friendship be inaugurated between two relatives who otherwise were expected to be reserved in each other's presence, somewhat more freedom between them was permitted, although the taboo on reference to sex was said to have been strictly maintained.[24] Among other examples of this type of enemy-friendship, Coming Daylight gave the following from her own experience. "My husband's nephew, Crazy Bull, one time presented to me a horse he had captured from the enemy. Before that time we had always properly avoided speaking to each other unless it was necessary, but now we were enemy-friends and we could play jokes on each other and he would tease me, too. One time, for instance, during the night he piled up a big load of firewood just in front of the entrance to my lodge. He had hoped that when I went out in the morning I would open the flap and go out head foremost into the wood and lose my temper. He was there watching to see what would happen, but unfortunately for him, my grandmother was the first to venture forth and so the trick miscarried and counted for me rather than for him. I never liked

[24] For details on kinship behavior, see pp. 107–26.

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to play jokes, but I would get even with him by going over to his lodge when I would hear him abusing his wife. He had to stop when I came in there because if I actually caught him at it, I could dub him a wife-beater or worse in public."

While in most instances the enemy-friendship was initiated by men, women occasionally obtained war trophies on their own, and had the same privilege. The following, told by Singer, illustrates how she herself came by some war trophies and the manner in which she disposed of them. "One time, when the Piegan had attacked us and the Gros Ventres were pursuing them, I dashed out with some of my women relatives. We came upon three Piegan who had just been killed. Those other women stopped to hit them but I rode by more slowly and spotted some booty near one of the bodies. I dismounted and picked up a nail-studded belt to which was attached a scabbard containing a knife and a nicely beaded gun case. I didn't want to show these to the others, but when they taunted me because I failed to count coups as they had done, I showed them this belt. One of them grabbed the scabbard, which I had intended to give to my own husband, saying: 'You are giving me this. Now we are enemy-friends!' To my nephew I later gave the gun case, saying as I threw it down in front of him: 'Here. You could have this for your gun. This is what I took in war.' The knife I threw down in front of my grandmother and, because we were now enemy-friends, I used a 'bad' name for her —I called her 'you who don't wipe your behind.'"

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[604] that the wife of a maternal uncle may likewise claim his nephew as "son-in-law."[8]

Brothers-in-law and Sisters-in-law

[607] The mutual regard between brother and sister is said to have been reflected not only through the carrying out of the obligations of the avunculate and amitate in the spirit of "showing how much brothers and sisters thought of each other." It could also be seen in the type of behavior expected between brothers-in-law on the one hand, and sisters-in-law on the other. Brothers-in-law were generous to each other and could joke lightly with each other, but nothing even remotely connected with sex could be so much as mentioned in each other's presence. A man was circumspect in regard to his sister's husband out of respect for his sister, and to his wife's brother because the latter, out of respect for his own sister, had similar obligations toward him. Sisters-in-law behaved toward each other in like fashion. These attitudes were extended to include wife's brother's wife as "sister," rather than "sister-in-law," and husband's sister's husband as "brother."

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Unmarried brothers of a man and wife likewise regarded themselves as brothers-in-law. A case which well illustrates the attitudes between them is the following as told by The Boy. "My older brother was married to Thick's older sister and we two young unmarried brothers-in-law experienced a most embarrassing situation. One of us was visiting a woman at night and the other came to the same woman, not realizing in the dark that his brother-in-law was already there. We recognized each other's voices, however, and the one who arrived last beat a hasty retreat. The matter has never, even to this day, been discussed nor so much as indirectly alluded to between us, and the embarrassment over this event led us to avoid each other for a considerable time thereafter. Eventually our relationship was deepened inasmuch as Thick married my sister. Even though my sister should die, Thick and I would continue to be brothers-in-law on the same plane."

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[8] Kroeber, 1902, p. 10, calls attention to the identity of terms for "niece" and "daughter-in-law." Apparently a woman used the term "son-in-law" for her niece's husband or for her husband's nephew only if presents were given.

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593 so." Brothers could borrow from each other without asking beforehand. Futhermore, an older man, who was married, might allow a younger unmarried brother to join the Crazy Lodge, lending his wife to stand in the place of a wife to him for ceremonial purposes.

Brothers- and Sisters-in-law

607 The greatest freedom was exhibited between a man and his brother's wife, on the one hand, and his wife's sister on the other. 522 Likewise a woman could say anything she chose to her husband's brother and to her sister's husband. Teasing and horseplay between brother-in-law and sister-in-law were not only permitted but expected. A favorite joke was for one to conceal in a strategic place within the lodge an "air cushion" consisting of a buffalo cow bladder, blown up and tied. When the other came in he was shown to the appointed place and his weight on the cushion caused a most embarrassing noise, much to the hilarity of all present. Taking it in apparent good nature, the victim would, however, bide his time to get even.

Another accepted type of trick was for one to make a laughing stock of the other by heavily blackening the eyebrows of the victim, while he or she was asleep. A rougher kind of play was also indulged in. Singer, for instance, said: "I was once thrown in the creek by my brother-in-law. It took me a long time to find opportunity for retaliation, because he was wary and stayed away from the creek when I was around. On one occasion though, when he started for his bath, I followed him, and, when he was on the brink of the creek, I sneaked up behind him and shoved him in yelling as I ran away: 'It took me a long time to get even with you!'" On another occasion she and her brother-in-law were partners in a game he made up. "The Gros Ventres had won in battle and this man said he was going to give a 'Victory Dance.' My sister and I joined the group, and, as we arrived, this brother-in-law of ours was singing all kinds of songs,—silly songs with the words all mixed up. Then he said: 'Each man take a partner. We are going to stand up all night. The first one who sits has to pay a fine!' So he chose me as his partner. Finally, after some time, he said: 'Wait a minute, I have to get a drink.'

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So he rushed into his father's lodge, but another of his sisters-in-law went in and saw him sitting down, and said to me: 'You two have lost, and we have won, because your partner sat down first.' Since I didn't have anything to put up as fine, my husband's brother pulled my eyebrows out, as was customary when a person couldn't pay a debt of this kind. My partner, however, gave a feast prepared by his mother as payment, but failed to include me. I got even with him by coming up behind him one day shortly thereafter and emptying a pail of water over his head."

Whether he liked it or not, a man had to take without complaint whatever kind of speech or action his own brother directed towards his wife, and likewise a woman had to put up with whatever her sister said or did to her husband. Men who were married to sisters considered each other as "brothers" rather than as brothers-in-law, just as women married to brothers were "sisters" and not sisters-in-law.

Inseparable-friends

As broadly as kinship bonds were conceived among the Gros Ventres in both consanguineal and affinal relationships, kinship behavior and obligations were extended even more widely through the institution of "inseparable-friends." Coming Daylight explained this as follows: "If two men are *inithlha* this means that they have grown up together and are the same as brothers although they are not really kin to each other. The children of these two men would be the same as brothers and sisters to each other and could not marry. All relatives of 'inseparable-friends' were considered as own relatives. Crow's Bull's 'inseparable-friend' was Truth. He knew all the songs that belonged to the Flat Pipe because Crow Bull was Keeper and the two were so much together. Truth always called Crow Bull's son 'son,' and he called me 'niece' because Crow Bull was my mother's brother. A woman could tease the 'inseparable-friend' of her husband in just the same way she could tease her brother-in-law."

Cora illustrated how complicated relationships could become through the inseparable-friendship. "My brother and Arthur Skinner were such friends, which made Arthur my 'brother.' When Arthur married I should normally have taken his wife as 'sister-

thought well, too, to name a child after someone who had attained advanced age. Thus it was that youths of 16 or 17 years of age would go out in a storm and stand before the lodge of some old man or woman and cry, begging the prayers of that person. Again, on a hunting party, should there be some old man along, unable to hunt, one member of the group might give a whole buffalo carcass to him; whereupon the grateful elder would offer a spontaneous prayer on the donor's behalf. Similarly, it was not at all unusual for successful young hunters to seek out old people to share in some of the spoils,—just as in these later times a bottle of whiskey was occasionally given to old persons by the young. Once in a while, too, some married man would have his wife cook a quantity of food and publicly invite old people, one of whom, in appreciation of this attention, would offer the expected prayer for the long life, health and success of the host and all the members of his household.

Dignity was, however, not necessarily an attribute of old age. With advancing years the conventions were somewhat relaxed. It was stated by one informant: "When a man had lived long enough to have participated in all the Sacred Dances, he had acquired the right to do almost as he pleased, including not having to observe so strictly the relationship taboos. It seemed to throw the bars down and he could have even more fun than ever at the expense of his enemy-friends and become still more vulgar and obscene." Relations between old women living together were not always harmonious and noisy quarreling was not unusual. Sometimes young boys played pranks on such old women, as in the following case.

"Two old women who were sisters shared a lodge. One day they were in there, seated back to back, warming themselves by the fire. They didn't have any clothes on and were feeling good, scratching their skins with sticks. Two young boys peeped in. They took a long willow and quietly heated the end of it in the fire. When the end of the willow was glowing, they touched one of the old women with it. She yelled at the other: 'You burned me,' and of course the other denied it. After a little while, the boys did the same thing to the other old woman. They heard her call out: 'What did you do to me? You burned me!' The boys

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repeated this stunt twice more, but this was too much for these old women, who then started fighting and shouting recriminations, blaming each other. The boys of course were in high glee as the old women hit each other and grunted. Finally, however, they called the daughter of one of the old women, saying: 'Come and see these old ones fighting. Try and stop them. They will kill each other.' So as the boys ran away, the younger woman restored peace."

Care of the aged devolved upon close kin. Whereas old men customarily lived directly with the households to which they were attached, old windows usually lived in lodges separate from, but located near, those of relatives who provided most of their food. To old women was often relegated the care of their grandchildren, especially of their granddaughters, whom they were supposed to train from the age of about seven until such time as they were given in marriage. The young girls in turn supplied the water and fuel for their grandmothers. In case the aged person had children of his own, he was reasonably secure. Those whose dependence was on more remote relatives were less assured of good care. The aged who had special skills which could be exercised in spite of debility, especially those who possessed "medicine power," were better off than the others.[1]

In dealing with old people it was said that much patience and forbearance were often necessary. For instance, one old woman, now deceased, was described by a relative in the following terms: "She was a hardboiled old jane, rough and tough, who didn't hesitate to tell you what she thought of things. But she had many friends and when visitors came she would swell up and be proud when they sat beside her rather than beside one of the several other old women who lived in the same place. Usually during the visit, however, she would get mad and threaten all kinds of things, and people would have to humor her. One day she really blew up and said: 'I'm going to save my relatives the job of hauling my carcass out, so I'm going out on the hills right now and lie out there and die!' So one of her relatives had to pretend to take her

[1] Denig, pp. 576–77, states that only such old persons who possess medicine powers are exempt from the petty tricks and other annoyances to which the aged in general are subject among northern plains tribes.

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buffalo tongues, for the celebration. The vower and his assistants would through their crier announce to the people whether the camp would move for good hunting. On the march, the vower and his company took their place in line immediately after the sacred Pipes. No one was allowed to hunt or run the buffalo until the signal was given.

During the hunt there would be foot and horse races, shooting contests and gambling matches between the "talls" and "shorts." The losers in the gambling would have to "cook," that is, to provide a meal for the winners, a feast at which the rest of the people, including the children, would horn in. Each one of the losers had to furnish some food or clothing and a smoke (not the pipe itself) to the winners. If one of the losers failed to bring a filled pipe along with the food or clothing wager, the wager was rejected, but he was given a chance to go get one. The winners kept track of the losers, and if any of the latter failed to pay up, they would not do anything to him at once while they were sitting around eating. But afterwards, the winners, followed by the rest of the people, would go to the lodge of the delinquent loser, who usually did not and dared not run away. Here the enemy-friend of the loser would take the latter out of his lodge, and lay him on a spread robe or blanket. The winners would then carry him to the stream or river, give him a good swing and throw him into the water. All the people would follow to see the fun, and the young boys would pelt him with buffalo chips. The victim had to take it all good naturedly and not lose his temper, and the crowd had a good laugh. If the loser were not in his lodge when the winners arrived, they would fetch water, and his enemy-friend would give the loser's bed a good drenching.

The hunt continued, the group moving here and there, until enough tongues and other meat was collected, the tongues having been turned over to the vower to be jerked by his wife or wives. Then came the earlier-mentioned four whole nights of singing, done either on successive nights, or from time to time as the tribe moved toward the spot selected for the Sacrifice Dance. After arrival there the fourth of the four all-night singings took place, marking the first night or beginning of the Dance proper, which

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of the deer-hoof rattles as the dancers jumped in the fire, was recorded, number 62, as sung by The Boy. It contains just one word meaning: "I wonder what makes me so crazy" (i.e., so crazy that I will jump in the fire). After the singing of the four songs, when the fire was blazing well, the Crazy Dancers said "Ya" and leaped barefooted into the fire and trampled it out with their bare feet. No case is on record of a dancer's feet being burned. As noted previously, the dancers in some way represented millers (moths).

It was a common custom for enemy-friends, male or female, of the dancers to rope them just as the latter were about to jump in the blazing fire and to release them only after the fire had died down or been stamped out. On release, the dancers would step only in the coals or ashes. Coming Daylight had so held back an enemy-friend on one occasion. Some women were quite strong enough to so hold men dancers back. At other times the men would break loose from the women. All this was done as a practical joke on the enemy-friend. Sometimes a wife would so hold back or try to hold back her husband, with a rawhide rope tied to his belt, apparently out of fear for his safety.

After the fire dance came a series of rites or observances which we are calling the bow rites, as the bow enters prominently into them. They consist of a dance, a race, bow-tightening, arrow-shooting, and moccasin plundering.

Before the dance began the Crazy Dancers selected two prominent men from another age-group than their own to act as referees for the race that followed the Dance. These two, one for the "talls" and one for the "shorts," took their places on either side of the dance lodge door. Then the grandfathers took the bows of their respective grandsons and, to the accompaniment of the deer-hoof rattles, sang four times a wordless song, number 63,—sung by The Boy and recorded by us. The dancers did not join in the singing as they had their whistles in their mouths. During the singing, the Crazy Dancers, in a mass, "talls" and "shorts" mingled, but with each team of two to four led by its grandfather carrying its bows, moved clockwise in a sort of dancing walk around the inside of the dance lodge, beginning at the left of the entrance. The singing and dancing were so synchronized that the

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the bow on the old man's back, and would push in under the old man's robe moccasins or other goods, as presents or payment. "The old man's back," Coming Daylight remarked, "would get higher and higher and he would go home with a pack [of these presents] on his back."

After this, each of the dancers moved away from where the old man had been lying, mounted an arrow, and danced four times. At each of the four dances, they motioned as if to shoot the arrow. At the end of the fourth song, they said "Ya," and released their arrows. The boys then grabbed the arrows; whoever grabbed one could keep it as his own.

Then the dancers started running back to camp, with men, women and children chasing them. Any pursuer who succeeded in grabbing a dancer—and throwing him down, according to Coming Daylight—would take the moccasins of the latter, who would submit without struggle. On one occasion Coming Daylight chased a dancer who was "kind of queer" but who "could run like an antelope." He made for a high hill, calling back at her repeatedly: "Why don't you make your own moccasins if you want them?" She could not overtake him.

This moccasin-plundering apparently marked the end of the Crazy Dance rite proper. After it the dancers would mingle barefooted with the people throughout the camp and "talk backward," and the whole camp would move, if only a little way off.

But for some time after the end of the rites proper,[21] the dancers would go around giving orders in "backward talk" to any one they met to dance or sing, chasing and "shooting" members of other age-groups as "imaginary enemies," and indulging in other forms of horseplay. If any victim was commanded "I suggest that you don't dance," he would have to dance. If told, "Don't sing," he would have to sing four times any Crazy Dance song he remembered. If the victim said, "Don't kick me hard," he would be kicked hard, and vice versa. The "imaginary enemies," especially enemy-friends and members (and their wives) of the opposite society, Stars or Wolves as the case might be, were shot with arrows the ends of which had been chewed to blunt them, as there

[21] Four days, according to Kroeber, 1908, p. 247.

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was no intention to really hurt the "enemies." Dogs, too, would be shot at. The poisoned arrow was of course never used in such good-natured shooting. The horseplay could, however, at times be pretty rough. On one occasion, a Crazy Dancer put his foot on the chest of an old man returning from berry-picking in the mountains, and pushed him over the edge of a cutbank. The old man fell over and also spilled all his berries. The Crazy Dancer was avenging the old man's inordinate boasting against "imaginary enemies" in an earlier Dance in which the latter had been a crier. On another occasion, when Coming Daylight's husband, Deafie, was coming back from hunting with deer meat piled on his horse, Crazy Dancers chased him clear to his lodge, although he had been their ritual-grandfather. Coming Daylight at risk of being herself "shot" by them, went out of the lodge and upbraided them roundly, throwing in to boot a coarse remark, and making an insulting noise. They went off without "shooting" her but with the parting remark: "My, we have a crazy grandmother!"

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Drum Dance

This Sacred Dance got its name bie:təhao'wə, "drum lodge" (cf. *Sitton*, "drum," *biitáhé*) from the single very big drum used in it. The members of the dance or lodge were called Drum Lodge men.

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The Dance died out very early, either shortly before Lame Bull's birth in 1824, or too soon thereafter for him to have witnessed it. Our information on it, derived mostly from The Boy, with stray bits from Coming Daylight, and Singer, is extremely fragmentary. The Boy had learned the origin story, four of the songs, and a few ritual details from Lame Bull. The latter knew a married couple who had taken part in the dance; the wife used to show a crooked stick that had been used in it. Coming Daylight had been told a little about it by one of her very aged "mothers"; Singer, by her husband, Iron Bucket. Neither of the two old women liked to talk about it as, they thought, they did not know enough about it to do so. Some features of the rite, in addition to those explicitly mentioned by our informants, may be reasonably inferred from parts of two stories narrated by The Boy.

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At big social or Grass Dances, the people used to be good to these "retired old men" and gave them good seats inside the hall or enclosure where the dance was held. At one such gathering, probably around 1905, a lot of these old men were present sitting in a semi-circle in front of the four chief men. One "retired old man," Fire Steel, Thomas Main's father-in-law and Lame Bull's brother-in-law, a witty old man who liked to talk, came late. Even though Lame Bull was present, Fire Steel said aloud, in a voice that could be heard by everyone: "What is the matter with you old men sitting there? You ought to sing songs of praise. Instead you are sitting there and playing 'it' so women can admire you. But your behinds are all pretty black now!" And everybody laughed. Fire Steel used to get to a dance late and in a tone loud enough for everyone present to hear used to expose these old men's past behavior,—things that they would not want said in public.

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Fly Dance

This dance was called no:bao'wə "fly lodge." The word no:bä is at present used for "house fly." Our informants were not sure if the word, as used for the dance itself, referred to flies or to mosquitoes.

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The dance was last performed about 1907. Our chief sources were The Boy, Thick and Coming Daylight; some stray data were gotten from Turn Toes, Charles Buckman, Thomas Main and Cora Chandler. Our information confirms Kroeber's description, and supplements it in only a few minor details.

No origin story was known to our informants, beyond the item that the dance "belongs to the flies [or mosquitoes]."

The Fly Dance, like other Sacred Dances, was held only in fulfillment of a vow, a vow usually made in less grave emergencies. In dignity the Fly Dance ranked lowest among the seven Sacred Dances carried out by men.

It was held in the summer, usually around the time when one of other Sacred Dances was being performed. Consequently there was no necessity of sending runners to assemble the people, as

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that the rites and observances to be described include all or at least the main features of it, although many details may be lacking. In general, the pattern was a comparatively simple one, and, while certain sacred elements were present, recreative elements, fun-making, and a sort of Halloween spirit were decidedly to the fore. 796*

The young fellows had a dance lodge of their own, apparently outside the camp circle. To this they brought plenty of food to provide a feast for their ritual grandfathers. After the grandfathers, or one of them, had made a smudge and offered a prayer, they painted the youths. The painting was done privately, without spectators. The smudging and praying, including perhaps the painting, were sacred. From then on the dance was secular.

After this religious part of the dance was over, the grandfather [probably of the chief vower] left the dance lodge with the young fellows, and, choosing a proper spot, started the first dance and song. The Flies formed in a circle with the grandfather in the center. He held his robe spread out, like insect wings, with his outstretched arms, and started chanting "Yo ho." The Flies then chanted "Yo ho, yo ho, yo ho," a number of times, and, crouching over danced in a circle jumping up and down on both feet together. The "song," number 65, recorded as sung by The Boy, was wordless, and more a sort of chant than a song proper, and ending with a buzzing sound. There was no accompaniment of drum or rattle. At the end of the dance the Flies all of a sudden fell over, lay on the ground face down, and hummed and buzzed like a swarm of flies (or mosquitoes). 535

This whole dance performance was gone through at four spots around the camp circle, to the north, east, south and west in succession.

According to Coming Daylight the ceremonial grandfather, standing in the middle of ring of dancers, would play jokes on them, throwing buffalo chips at them. According to The Boy and Thick, the Dancers themselves, either then or after breaking up, would throw buffalo chips at one another. [522]

After the fourth dance, to the west, the dancers would disperse and would with sticks, to the end of which cactus spines were attached, stick anyone they could reach.

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*796 These were fastened to the center pole "at the top," so that it was "full of goods that they offered." The offerings were made by "those who made the dance." Such an offering was made, for instance, by the woman above-mentioned who joined the dance for the recovery of her wounded brother. As at the Sacrifice Dance, too, when the Women's Dance was over and camp was moved, the lodge, center pole and attached offerings were all left just standing there.

*796 302 The dancers, the two attendants and the "calf" or "calves," were painted, by the "boss" (and perhaps by others),—the dancers at least, "all over the face, then on top of the hair and down the hair hanging to the shoulders." During the painting the one painting would pray for the other being painted, and the latter might pray on her own account for whatever she desired, such as long life, medicine power, or other favors.

*796 533 Of the songs sung during the Women's Dance we recorded only one, number 66, a wordless one, sung by The Boy. The singing was done or at least led by the old man (or two old men) who sat at the back of the lodge, and was apparently (the point was not cleared up by us) joined in by the chief vower and "boss," and also by the "cows." The singing was done to the accompaniment of the deer-claw rattles mentioned previously, and without the drum. Those dancing did not sing while dancing. "The singing in the Women's Dance," The Boy remarked, "sounded 'old,' quite different from the way a young woman sings." To Coming Daylight's ear "it sounded fine."

*796 535 The dancing went on, not continuously, but intermittently, with intervals in between. Dancing was done by the "cows," attendants, and "calves," not by the "bull" who just sat in her place near the door with her horned headdress on and her head bowed down. The participants danced toward the back of the lodge, "kind of bouncing up and down in one place and shaking their heads from side to side." Coming Daylight, as a "calf," danced with the rest, near the door. According to Singer, the dances were done in series of four, as told her by one or two of her grandmothers who had been through the Women's Dance, and, if any of the "cows" did not get up to dance, the "bull" would "get busy" and "start

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to jump on them," simulating copulation, to the amusement apparently of the other "cows." Whether the chief vower and the "boss" took part in the dancing is not clear,—more probably they did not.

Intervals between the dancing were given over to smoking, chatting, feasting, and fun-making. In more modern times at least the women smoked for pleasure. The dancers were each expected to bring food to the dance, and feasting was an important element, the singers at the back of the lodge faring particularly well. During these intervals, too, the women would play all kinds of tricks on one another, such as taking some woman's belongings and hiding them. They would have "lots of fun," "laughing all the time" and "making lots of racket."

Apparently it was customary for relatives of dancers in the Women's Dance, as in other sacred Dances, to give away presents to third parties in honor of the dancers.

The more public and more spectacular episodes of the Women's Dance, as of the Sacrifice and Crazy Dances, occurred on the fourth and last day. To these features we now turn.

The "cows" and the "bull," all wearing their headdresses and accompanied by the "calves," left the dance lodge and went in a bunch to look for water in the creek and to drink. The "bull" followed to the rear, herding the "cows," and if one of the latter started to stray she would be punched back with the herd. Part of the time at least, the "cows" were "bent over, dancing like animals, and going on hands and knees." The "bull" would run after different "cows" and "jump on them," in mimic copulation. Coming Daylight, as a "calf" was told to follow one of the "cows" as her "mother" and try to nurse, but the "bull" chased her away when she approached her mother. In general, the "calves" were supposed to keep to the side, out of the way of the "bull."

After the drink at the creek, came the pantomime buffalo drive. The two "hunters" (cf. supra, p. 245) would make a fire outside the camp circle up-wind from the women, and as the women got the smell of the smoke, the "hunters" on horseback drove them, as in a real buffalo drive, and shot the "cows" or some of them with blunt arrows that did not hurt. The "cows" who had before-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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After the Women's Dance was ended, the women participants broke up and each went back to her own lodge where she went through a final private ceremony. This,—and some other phases of Gros Ventre culture,—may be illustrated in the following story from real life, told by The Boy with hilarious laughter and with consummate histrionic artistry of intonation, gesture, facial expression and mimicry. Would that we could have gotten a sound-movie of it.

"It was the custom among all the tribes around here that when the old women had their Dance and it had ended they would go back to their tents and rest. Before they took a drink they would do like the buffalo does on going to water.

"Not long ago there died here a Gros Ventre man, named Hill (or Butte), who was famous for his ability to break wind, loud or soft, at will. He had a friend, a Blood Indian. On one occasion the Gros Ventres and Bloods got together, and a Women's Dance was held. Hill went to visit his Blood friend in the latter's lodge.

"After a while, when the dance was over, the Blood's wife came home, squatted down, said 'Phew' from fatigue, took off her dance regalia, and wiped the sweat off her face. Then she took an unborn-calf robe and laid it on her head, and put on her horned ritual headdress. She next gave her husband a wooden dish to fill with water and place in the lodge opposite the entrance. Hill, a spectator of all this, was a brother-in-law of the Blood's wife and hence had a right to joke with her.

"The old woman, then, in her dance regalia, got down on all fours, crawled up to the bowl of water sort of roaring like a buffalo going to drink, and as she reached the bowl suddenly shied away. This she did three times. After the fourth time she would have taken a drink, but just as she was about to drink, after the fourth approach, Hill broke wind loudly. At this the old woman just fell backwards, her headdress fell off, and she did not drink.

"Another Blood Indian present fell backwards laughing. Hill did not crack a smile. The woman's husband put his hand over his face and kept a stern demeanor until Hill said to him: 'My younger brother, don't get mad. All the tribes all over the

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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514 country do what I did. When buffalo go to drink, Indians just
●522 shoot them. I was just re-enacting this. What I did was proper.'
*796 To this the husband replied: 'My elder brother, that's true.'

"When the people heard the laughing, they came flocking around. The other Blood was still laughing, in fact was in a laughing spell. His relatives carried him out and took him home and there dashed water on him and revived him."

Peyote Cult and Ghost Dance

668 What little we were able to gather on the peyote cult and Ghost
795 Dance among the Gros Ventres, is here presented.

Peyotism is entirely lacking among the present-day Gros Ventres and appears never to have gained a foothold among them in the past. Some individuals, we were told by The Boy and Thick, had tried to introduce it, but without success as the Gros Ventres were "a little afraid of it." The fact that the Gros Ventres have been under fairly intensive Catholic missionary influence since the middle 1880's may partly account for the resistance.[43] Some young Gros Ventres, who were on a visit to the Crows, were invited to take part in Peyote observances, but declined.

On the fortunes of the Ghost Dance among the Gros Ventres, our chief informants were Cora Chandler and her husband Al Chandler, Coming Daylight, The Boy, Thick, Charles Buckman and Thomas Main. Singer had joined the movement but though perfectly willing to speak freely about other subjects was somewhat reluctant to talk about this one. Our other informants had not joined the Ghost Dance, but Cora Chandler's people "were strong for it." Coming Daylight was, as will be explained, in close contact with certain phases of it, and The Boy had been present as a spectator at many Ghost Dance gatherings.

The Ghost Dance was called among the Gros Ventres, not
[197] "Ghost Dance," but "Little Round Dances." It was first introduced among them in 1891 by a Gros Ventre from the Hays area who had lived among the Arapaho of Wyoming a number of years, had

[43] Coming Daylight came in contact with the Peyote Cult on a visit some years ago to Oklahoma, but, she remarked, "the Catholic Indians in Oklahoma were against peyote."

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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only his property and so have to begin accumulating again from scratch, but might at the same time lose as well his standing in the tribe and become a defeated and disgraced nobody, of a low standing from which it was very difficult to rise in the scale.

The wheel game was not played by women or children, nor apparently by the very young men, but only by fully adult or middle-aged men and older ones, and by only two players at a time. The really big games with large stakes were in most cases, it seems—almost all, according to our informants—played by two "enemy friends" or "war friends." Such enemy friends or war friends were very different from ordinary friends or "true" pledged friends. An "enemy friendship" was a war-related compact entered into in the following manner. A member of a returning war party would give some trophy or booty he had taken from the enemy—e.g., a scalp, or horse, or weapon—to one of his own compatriots of the same or opposite sex, who had little choice but to accept. Acceptance made "enemy friends" or "war friends" of the two. War friends, particularly if unrelated and both males, could go the limit in twitting and insulting each other and in playing practical jokes, even rather outrageous ones, on each other, and the victim had to take such behavior in good part, at least externally. However, along with the privilege of taking such liberties ran the accepted obligation to stand by each other in real need or hazard of grave nature.

The two war friends could gamble with each other. In fact, gambling among the Gros Ventre reached at times its climax in contests between two war friends. A wheel game between war friends commonly arose out of a "bragging match" between them; one would challenge the other to play the wheel game. If the one challenged declined to accept the challenge, his war friend who challenged him, and his other war friends, would ever after take occasion to deride him publicly for it at the least provocation. So the challenge could not easily be declined. The game often became one in which each enemy friend would go out to strip the other of practically everything he owned—horses, gun, blankets, lodge—and at which the most eager interest was aroused among the relatives, fellow-clansmen, and friends of the respective players and, for that matter, among the whole camp population. Such enemy-friend contests were commonly protracted sessions, often all-day ones, at the wheel game.

The following three narratives of particular wheel-game gambling contests—the first two of which are matters of well-remembered recent history, the third an older traditional story paralleled elsewhere on the Plains—throw some further light on the social role of the Gros Ventre wheel game.

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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stakes, but not for really large ones. A gambling game between two brothers-in-law, small though the stakes had to be, was a good show for the onlookers—not, however, nearly so good as one between two prominent enemy friends. Two sisters-in-law were also "just right" for gambling against each other. 606 525

Through all these three relationships run two currents: one of mutual goodwill and helpfulness, the other of familiarity, "teasing" and twitting. Between two brothers-in-law and two sisters-in-law there is relatively more of the first and less of the second; between brother-in-law and sister-in-law relatively more of the second and less of the first.

Two brothers-in-law could not discuss sex or vulgarity and could not go to the toilet together. They would be helpful to each other in giving presents, in a building project, in business matters, and so forth. But on the other hand they could go quite far in "humiliating" each other, in indulging in practical jokes and horse play at the other's expense, and in rivaling each other in war and in war-deed matching contests—but not to the limit, not so far as enemy friends could go. Two sisters-in-law could likewise "tease" each other, but could not go to the same length that brothers-in-law could go. [522]

To her brother-in-law (sister's husband or husband's brother) a woman could go nearly any length in "teasing" and freedom in the way of crude horse play and of vulgar and obscene talk, and vice versa.

The gambling rule that prevailed, and still prevails largely, between these three types of siblings-in-law, namely, gambling for small stakes permitted and encouraged, but not for large stakes, appears to be genetically related to the two currents we have been discussing: the goodwill one prohibiting stakes whose loss would really hurt, the familiarity one permitting and provoking small-stake gambling. 619 525

The Gros Ventre, with a population range of between about 800 and 2,000 in the second half of the last century, were divided into about a dozen bands. These bands were not sibs proper, but each was composed largely of kin related by blood or marriage. Members of a given band, whether related or not, would not gamble against one another. There was a well-marked we-feeling among the members of a band, somewhat distinct from and additional to the kinship feeling proper. Actually this was almost equivalent to "tribal" we-feeling, for each band was for the greater part of the year, particularly in the winter months when the bands scattered to separate quarters within the tribal territory, an almost completely autonomous economico-political unit, and any band was free if it wished to secede from the tribe at any time, temporarily or permanently. 621 [161]

796 be repeated so that it was something of an ordeal. The sword owners would see to it that the dancers kept up, prodding the laggards until the series of songs had been completed.

[533 177] The singers themselves had a smoking song, one of the few songs of the Grass dance for which words were adopted along with the tunes [11] from the Assiniboine. This song indicated a period of rest and relaxation for all but it was required that one of the officers provide the pipe and mixture for the singers.

Any member who left the dancing-place was obliged to surrender some piece of personal property as insurance that he would return. If he did not come back, the property was forfeit.

796 [433] 586 Another distinctive feature of the earlier Grass dance was the throwing away of property and especially of wives. The term "throwing away" is appropriate because a stick was held in the hand and after the holder publicly announced what the stick represented he would throw it to the ground. If, for instance, a member of the society had decided to give away his wife he would take a stick and say: "Here is so-and-so (naming the woman)" and throw the stick down. Sometimes another member would pick up the stick, thus indicating that he was taking this woman, but occasionally it happened that no one grabbed her and in such case the wife in question would return to live with her own relatives. The man who so renounced his wife was supposed to be through with her for good. It was said by informants, however, that once in a while, provided the wife had not been claimed by another, the husband would want her back again. An instance in illustration of this point was told to me. A man who stood to my informant in the relation of enemy-friend [12] had so disposed of his wife at a Grass dance. Some time later my informant saw the couple together again. My informant took ad-

522 796 586 572

[533] [11] Most of the Gros Ventre Grass dance songs have no words proper. This contrasts with the Arapaho Grass dance songs, as my informants are well aware. The difference is perhaps due to the influence on the Arapaho of the Ghost Dance religion (cf. Kroeber, A. L., The Arapaho, AMNH-B 18, pt. 4, 1907, p. 320), which scarcely affected the Gros Ventres.

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[572] [12] This was a joking and rivalry relationship entered into by presenting to a fellow tribesman an object captured from the enemy.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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vantage of the occasion, as she had the right to do, to make fun of her enemy-friend without his being able to retaliate. She took a handful of horse manure and rubbed it all over his face saying, "Oh! All of us at the Grass dance saw you throw her away, why are you going with her again?" and in this way called attention to the fact that he was not so "brave" as he had pretended to be.

Another informant stated that she and her sister were just able to escape the embarrassing experience of so being given away. They were both living with a man who was a prominent member of the Wolf society. One of his fellow-members, however, came to the two women and told them that their husband planned on throwing them both away at the forthcoming Grass dance. My informant was very angry to get this news and said to her sister: "We will get ready and get rid of him first!" Whereupon they packed their belongings and taking their own horses went quickly to their mother's brother. My informant said that this man who was going to throw them away tried many times to speak to her thereafter but she always turned away and refused to listen, thinking to herself: "Well, there are plenty of other men."

As a final point in the discussion of the [illegible] form of the Grass dance, the custom of members giving away presents in honor of their loved ones should be mentioned. This was a purely voluntary procedure and could be done by any member who wished to do so at any performance of the Grass dance. The following is a typical example of how this was carried out. The same informant last mentioned, married another member of the Wolf society not long after the incident she described above, and had been selected as one of the four women singers for the Grass dance. At one performance she was holding her infant daughter, her first child by this marriage, as she sang. Her husband, wishing to honor his little daughter, told a war story, went to his wife and took the child in his arms and, going to the center of the dancing-place, gave away a horse to one of the Assiniboine who happened to be visiting at the time of the dance.

Such was the form of the Grass dance as carried out by the